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ABSTRACT

Chicago American Indian students are not experiencing an effective education in the public school system. Over the centuries, educating American Indians has been ineffectively handled by missionaries, federal institutions, and public schools. American Indian students are educated in public schools, Catholic schools, or in special programs such as the federal Title IV/V program, the Audubon Schools Project, or the Truancy Alternative Optional Education Program. Although the American Indian population in Chicago has increased since the 1950s, there is a lack of accurate data on American Indians because the Indian population is still relatively small (only .2% among the Chicago student enrollment) and relatively silent. Data show that enrollment clearly drops off before and during high school. The general achievement norms for American Indian students fall behind national norms, although achievement is greater in the Catholic school system. A cohort dropout rate for American Indians in Chicago in 1986 was reported to be 70.8%. American Indian children in Chicago have all the risk factors associated with poor school achievement. Recommendations include: (1) creating a position of Director of American Indian Education; (2) involving parents; (3) expanding intervention programs; (4) inservicing teachers; (5) evaluating federal programs and adult education programs; (6) hiring American Indian teachers and staff; and (7) studying the success of Catholic schools. The report contains numerous figures, maps, photographs, and tables. (KS)

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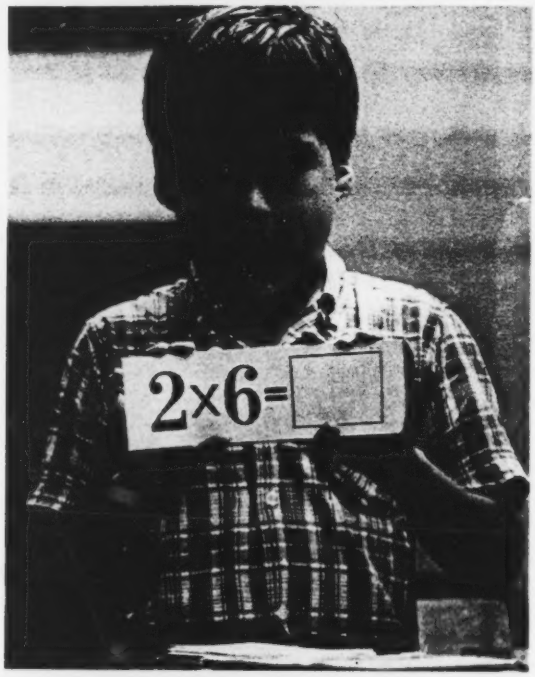
American Indian Education in the Chicago Public Schools:

A Review and Analysis of Relevant Data and Issues



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American Indian Education in the Chicago Public Schools: A Review and Analysis of Relevant Data and Issues

Editor
George Cornell, Director
Native American Institute
Michigan State University

Research Associates
Wesley L. Andrews
Carol Garvin

NAES College
2838 West Peterson
Chicago, Illinois 60659
(312) 761-5000

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	The Indian Education Research and Reform Project Members of the Education and Public Policy Group	

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Preface

The objectives of this report are threefold: first, to review and analyze existing data regarding the educational experience of American Indians in Chicago Public Schools; second, to identify factors which are having a negative impact on the educational experience and well-being of American Indian students in the educational arena; and third, to propose recommendations for alleviating educational problems which are encountered by American Indian students in educational institutions in the Chicago area. The recommendations which are advocated can make a difference in the educational attainment of Indian students. This is critically important since education is the primary vehicle for American Indians to achieve social mobility and opportunity in contemporary society. To fail educationally is to fail. Educational achievement for Indian students is imperative at this time. If problems in Indian education are exacerbated or allowed to continue, a generation will be lost to cycles of poverty and under-employment. The time for intervention is now. The educational problems of American Indians in the public schools and other educational institutions in Chicago must not be ignored any longer.

This report was compiled and directed by NAES College (Native American Educational Services College), which was founded in 1974 and has campuses on three reservations and in two major urban areas including Chicago. NAES College is committed to educational opportunities and achievement for American Indian adults. Since the inception of NAES, the College has advocated the integration of tribal knowledge and intellectual traditions with contemporary curriculum and processes.

Special recognition and thanks go to those who carried out the research and writing for this project. They are Terry Straus, Dean of NAES' Chicago Campus; Wesley Andrews, Project Director; and Carol Garvin, Research Assistant.

NAES College is grateful for the support and advice of the Education and Public Policy Group for this project, although the college accepts full responsibility for any errors in the text. Members are listed at the end of this report.

NAES College would like to acknowledge the generous support of the MacArthur Foundation in undertaking and completing this report, and to the Seabury Foundation for providing the costs of printing. Hopefully, the recommendations contained in this report will play a role in upgrading the educational experience for American Indian students in the Chicago Public Schools.

George Cornell
Michigan State University
1991

Introduction

The underlying assumption of this report is that Chicago American Indian students are not experiencing an effective education in the public school system. In conducting this study, a consistent finding was that there is a very limited public knowledge regarding Chicago American Indian populations. The findings of this report clearly demonstrate that the public had minimal or no knowledge about this population; when information did exist, it was vague and distorted. This fact is critically important to understanding American Indians in the Chicago region and their educational experience. Not only does this finding account for a limited and inconsistent data base, but it also signifies the most outstanding characteristic of the Chicago American Indian, ANONYMITY.

For the Chicago American Indian student, educational achievement is complicated by a school system that is massive, impersonal and strained beyond its capacity. Indian students are representative of only .2% of the overall student population, yet have the highest dropout rate of all racial/ethnic groups. This high dropout rate is exacerbated by a host of factors which impact the educational attainment of Indian students. Once again, though, the anonymity of American Indian students in Chicago Public Schools is one of the major factors for the existence of this problem. American Indians are spread throughout the school system, are often difficult to identify, and lack the "public voice" or power of other minority groups in Chicago. For these reasons, the educational problems of American Indians in the system go relatively unnoticed.

This report will present available data on American Indian populations in Chicago Public Schools and data on the American Indian community. Other factors relating to the American Indian experience in Chicago will also be discussed. This information will be used, in conjunction with other sources, to formulate strategies and recommendations to improve the quality of education for American Indian students in public schools. It is critically important to use this information to the best possible advantage, since American Indian children must possess the educational tools to compete with other groups for limited resources and jobs. This will become increasingly important as we move into the future. A quality education must be provided to all children if cycles of poverty and educational disparity are going to be eliminated.

A Brief History of Indian Education

In the future, your business dealings with whites are going to be hard ... We older people need you to help us understand what they are up to ... Grandchildren, be good ... Learn all you can.

SITTING BULL, CIRCA, 1880

In recent years, Indian education has been debated in the halls of Congress and in school districts across the nation. On more than one occasion, Indian education has been referred to as a "national tragedy."[1] The lack of educational programs tailored to meet the needs of America's indigenous populations is a national disgrace. Unfortunately though, these educational problems are the historic outgrowth of federal policies aimed at educating American Indian populations. These historic policies have served to limit access to education and have biased the educational experience of many American Indians.

The effects of federal Indian educational policies have been devastating. According to 1980 census data, the educational attainment levels for American Indians improved significantly during the decade of 1970-80 but still remained below the levels for the general population. For persons 25 years and older, 56% of American Indians had completed high school. High school completion for that same age group in the general population was 67%. Prior to the 1970s, American Indian school achievement was well below the national median. A recent study by the Carnegie Foundation found that "40% of Indians aged 18 to 24 had not graduated from high school as opposed to only 17% white non-completers."[2] These statistics are the

results of federal policies which have failed to provide a meaningful education for American Indian populations. In the contemporary period, it is critically important to achieve educationally. Without adequate education, American Indians will have a difficult time finding meaningful employment and opportunity in society. An examination of the history of federal Indian policy will shed light on past mistakes and may shed some light on corrective measures for the future.

One must keep in mind that the educational process for American Indians did not begin with the coming of Europeans. Tribal groups, across what is now the Americas, each had educational processes to inform their young people regarding tribal history, culture and economic matters. The educational problems of American Indians, however, did begin with Europeans. Attendance problems, dropout rates, and low achievement levels began to surface as American Indian students were confronted with different cultural patterns and standards in educational settings controlled by non-Indian peoples.

Some of the earliest educational experiences open to American Indians in the old Colonial Northwest (which is today Midwest) were provided by Catholic missionaries who travelled with representatives of the fur companies and New France. These missionaries were interested in converting local Indian populations to Christianity, and they educated Indians to white ways to promote this end. Hymn books and other religious materials were translated into indigenous languages, and Jesuit priests learned dialects of Algonquin languages in their efforts to convert the Indians. Day schools were often founded near missions and the "fathers" had a history of taking Indian children into the missions for the purposes of educating them. None of these early efforts were systematic attempts to educate Indian populations though. Those educational efforts would have to wait for the conclusion of the French and Indian Wars (1754-1763) and the American Revolution which was concluded by the Treaty of Paris in 1783. The resolution of these conflicts clearly placed Indian policy in the hands of the newly formed American Republic.

Educating American Indians was not the highest priority of the federal government during these early years. More pressing issues regarding Indians had to be dealt with and decided. Peace needed to be maintained with Indian nations so as to avoid costly wars on the frontier. Once the government felt it had successfully contained Indians, contracts were arranged with missionaries of various denominations to educate select Indian populations. In addition, as the federal government signed more and more treaties with Indian nations, education was requested as a provision of these agreements by tribal leaders who negotiated with representatives of the

government. The creation of schools and funds to support tribal education became a common facet of many Indian treaties with the federal government. The schools that were established as an outgrowth of this process were often referred to as Missionary Day Schools. These day schools were often called "contract" schools since the federal government contracted with a specific religious organization to provide educational services to Indian children.

These schools flourished during the 19th century, yet they did not meet with the satisfaction of Indian parents or the religious organizations which ran them. Indian parents complained that their children were not being educated efficiently since much of their time was spent on religious study. The Indian parents contended that conversion was the goal of these schools, not education. The religious educators in the contract schools also complained to federal authorities responsible for Indian education that Indian students were learning appropriate behaviors and lessons during the day, yet when they returned home at night they had to live by the norms and mores of their Indian parents. This contrast, according to the teachers and clerics, was impeding the educational process of the children.

In the late 1800s, the federal government, siding with religious leaders, attempted to "correct" this problem by creating the infamous boarding schools. The boarding school concept intended to take Indian children from their homes for the entire year so that Indian students would learn the behaviors of the dominant culture on a full-time basis while learning the rudimentary subjects in the classroom. These schools were based on the Carlisle Boarding School which was founded in an abandoned military barracks in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, under the direction of Captain Richard Henry Pratt in 1879. The Carlisle "experiment" forged the way for the implementation of the boarding school system nationally. Unfortunately, the system was to become a national tragedy for Indian children.

The boarding school environment was totally alien to the Indian children who were forced to attend these schools by Indian agents throughout the United States. The schools were organized along military lines and proved to be intimidating to the Indian children who were literally incarcerated in these institutions. Children were not allowed to speak their native languages in these schools, were corporally punished, and were afflicted with numerous diseases due to overcrowding and unsanitary conditions. A detailed, yet sympathetic account of the hardships in these schools is included in Grace Coolidge's *Teepee Neighbors*, which documents federal neglect that sometimes resulted in the death of Indian children. Unfortunately, these schools were the only educational option for most American Indian children

during the latter part of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th. The boarding school system remained intact until the publication of the Meriam Report in 1928. This report, compiled by Lewis Meriam, was published by the Brookings Institute and was officially titled, *The Problems of Indian Administration*. It concluded that the boarding schools were a coercive policy of the federal government which was intended to assimilate Indian children into the mainstream of American life. The schools were deemed a total failure and a national disgrace. The publication of the Meriam Report began an era of reform in Indian education.

Shortly after the publication of the Meriam Report, the Indian New Deal under the direction of John Collier was implemented as a part of the Roosevelt Administration. Collier proposed many reforms including Indian education. In 1934, the Johnson-O'Malley Act was passed which allowed the federal government to contract with public schools to support Indian children enrolled in public school districts. This legislation signaled the closing of many boarding schools and the widespread transfer of Indian education to the public schools. The transition was a difficult one for many children. In the public schools they became a recognizable "minority" and inaccurate, historic perceptions of Indians followed them. Over time it became clear that Indian children were not faring as well as their non-Indian peers in the public system. In the post-World War II period it became more and more obvious that Indian children were having difficulties in public schools, yet it wasn't until the 1960s that national focus was once again directed at Indian education.

In 1965, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) was passed. This Act contained numerous provisions for educational programs and ushered in the era of "Great Society" education programs. In addition, the Kennedy Report, published in 1969, reiterated the general themes of the Meriam Report, which had been published four decades earlier. The report referred to Indian education as a "National tragedy," and called for sweeping changes in Indian programs nationwide.[3] Together the ESEA and the Kennedy Report paved the way for the implementation of the Indian Education Act in 1972. Initially authorized as Title IV of ESEA, the program is now Title V and is the primary source of federal support for Indian education in public schools. The program provides additional financial support to school districts for a range of activities which include tutoring, acquisition of learning materials and special activities. All of these activities are supposed to be designed to assist the educational experience of Indian children in the district or to educate students to the heritage, culture and contributions of

American Indian populations.

Over the centuries, educating American Indians has been handled by missionaries, federal institutions and in the 20th century, public schools. Unfortunately, none of these have insured a quality education for American Indian children that would allow them to compete on equitable footing with non-Indian peers. The reasons for this are numerous and oftentimes complex. Historically, there has been a general disregard for American Indian culture and heritage in education. All too often, American Indians are viewed as impediments to progress, and their culture is treated in an oversimplified manner. The sophistication of indigenous life is never fully developed; rather, generalizations about "Indians" are taught. As a result, Indian history is not woven into the fabric of national purpose, often being treated as an aside or pigeon-holed into "special units." The proliferation of misinformation regarding American Indian populations certainly has had an effect on all children, but it has had a marked effect on Indian children. Literally, they have been taught that their culture and heritage is not as important as the history of Western Civilization and the United States. To go a step further, Indian children are being denied the opportunity to learn information about their cultures which could reinforce their desire to learn in the classroom setting, simply because the information is not being taught. Without question, this historic and on-going situation produces alienation for children and adults in the educational process. Of course, there are many other factors related to school achievement. Fundamentally, though, children must believe that the educational system values them and the experience of their people. Only then can they perceive the educational process as serving them and their future goals and aspirations.

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Indians in the City of Chicago

"Of those American Indians who are now dwelling in urban areas, approximately three-fourths are living in poverty... The BIA's responsibility does not extend to Indians who have left the reservation, but this point is not always clearly understood...Lost in the anonymity of the city, often cut off from family and friends, many urban Indians are slow to establish new community ties. Many shuttle back and forth between reservations and urban areas. Language and cultural differences compound these problems. As a result, Federal, State, and local programs which are designed to help such persons often miss the most deprived and least understood segment of the urban poverty population."[4]

Richard Nixon, July 1970

Historically, federal policies, economic fluctuations, and World War II promoted American Indian migrations into the industrialized, urban areas of the United States. During the Second World War, an estimated 25,000 American Indians served in the armed forces. Former Bureau of Indian Affairs Commissioner, John Collier, stated that "the War has brought about the greatest exodus of Indian people from reservations that has ever taken place."[5] A higher percentage of American Indians fought in World War II than any other ethnic minority. Experiences during the war heightened interest in education and economic opportunity, and many American Indians moved to urban environments in pursuit of a more rewarding lifestyle.

The United States Federal Government also accelerated this migration via the Relocation Program of the early 1950s, which relocated Indians from reservations to select urban areas. According to the 1980 census, 67% of the 1.4 million American Indians resided in urban areas (Figure 1). Census data indicate a strong, steady urban growth pattern. Although the urban population has been increasing in size, recognition of this trend has been slow.

American Indian populations in Chicago became most noticeable during the 1950s. Without question, this was

tied to the Relocation Program and the efforts of the federal government. As early as 1870, though, the Bureau of the Census was tabulating an official count of American Indians in Chicago. In that year, the "official" count listed 5 American Indians and census counts remained below 1,000 until the 1950s. During that period of time, because of the city's industrial capacity, Chicago was chosen as a target relocation area. Several thousand Indians, from various reservations, were enrolled in the Relocation Program and transported to Chicago. Relocatees were provided transportation costs, a meager stipend, and a promise of education and economic opportunity. In 1950, according to census documents, 774 American Indians were residing in Chicago. By the 1970s, the count had risen to 6,804. (This did not include the Chicago Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, or SMSA, which is a larger geographic area that includes Chicago and surrounding areas.)

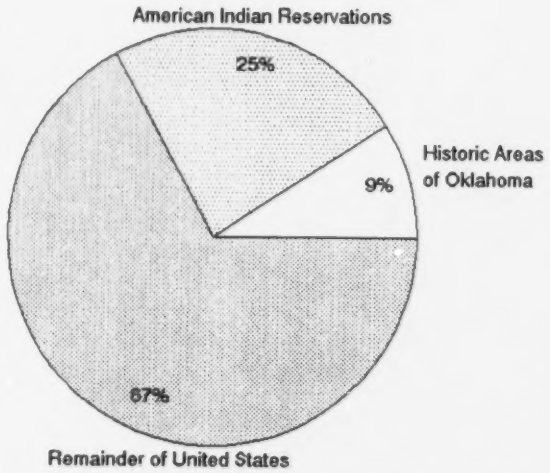
The 1980 census data identified 12,136 American Indians who living in the Chicago SMSA. The American Indian community in Chicago has long argued that this count is unrealistically low. Community organizations contend that there are at least 18,000 - 20,000 American Indians in the Chicago SMSA.

Figure 1. Places of residence of American Indians in the U.S. 1980

American Indians lived on reservations and in the historic areas of Oklahoma (excluding urbanized areas).

- One-fourth or 340,000 of all American Indians lived on reservations in 1980. Reservations are areas with boundries established by treaty, statute, and/or executive or court order.

- The American Indian population in the historic areas of Oklahoma (excluding urbanized areas) numbered 116,000, comprising 9% of the total American Indian population. The historic areas consist of the former reservations which had legally established boundries during the 1900-1907 period.

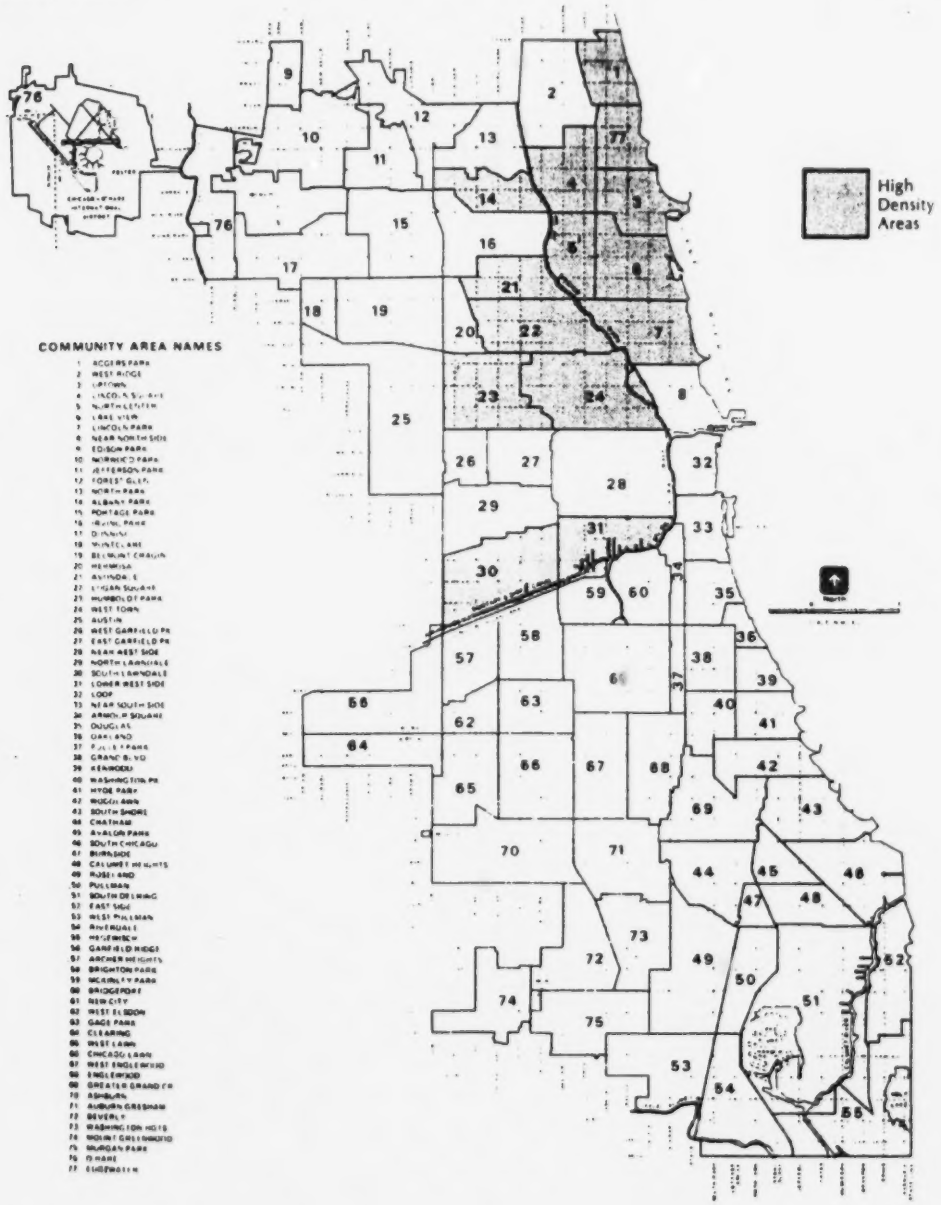


there are at least 18,000 - 20,000 American Indians in the Chicago SMSA. Indian leaders attribute the inaccuracy to unreliable census counting techniques, high mobility of Indian families, and a reluctance by some Indians to respond to census questionnaires for fear of further government intrusion. Based on these estimates, 0.8% of the national Indian population lives in the State of Illinois. In addition, there are no federally recognized Indian tribes resident within the state. Most of the contemporary Indian population comes from the surrounding midwestern states. Recently, there has been a noted influx of American Indians coming to Chicago from southwestern areas of the country. One thing is certain though. When the results of the 1990 census are made available, there will be a significant increase in the number of American Indians that are identified in the Chicago SMSA.

The Chicago Indian Community is home to people from approximately 102 tribes. The highest concentration of the population resides in the Uptown area (see Map 1). This group is representative of 17% of the total Chicago Indian population. Uptown is a socially diverse community and has been referred to as Chicago's "melting pot." In 1979, 27% of the identified Indian families in the city lived below the poverty level of $9,862. Sixty-five percent (65%) of these families were headed by single parents of which 35% had children and juveniles under the age of 18 years. In that same year, the median income of all Indian families in Chicago was $13,970, $4,805 less than the median income for all city families. The Indian population is concentrated into four census tracts, 312, 315, 316, 317. (See Map 2). 3 shows the location of these tracts. The American Indian population is also younger than the general Chicago population. The mean age for American Indians was 29.8 years compared to the total population mean age of 33.3 years. Additionally, the Chicago American Indian population contained a higher percentage of juveniles and fewer seniors than the general population. A large segment of the Indian population is composed of children and juveniles under the age of fourteen. Again, when the 1990 census data becomes available, these trends will be exacerbated. This projection is based on observations and interviews with American Indian community members in Chicago.

Like other ethnic groups migrating to metropolitan areas, American Indians experienced adjustment difficulties. For some individuals, adjustment to urban life occurred with little personal disruption. Some individuals were able to achieve the necessary economic stability which in turn helped balance conflicting value systems. A high percentage of newcomers, though, were not able to establish economic stability essential to well being in urban areas. For this latter group, the inability to reconcile reservation life with the

Map 1. Chicago Community Areas with an American Indian Population of 100 or More Persons, 1980.



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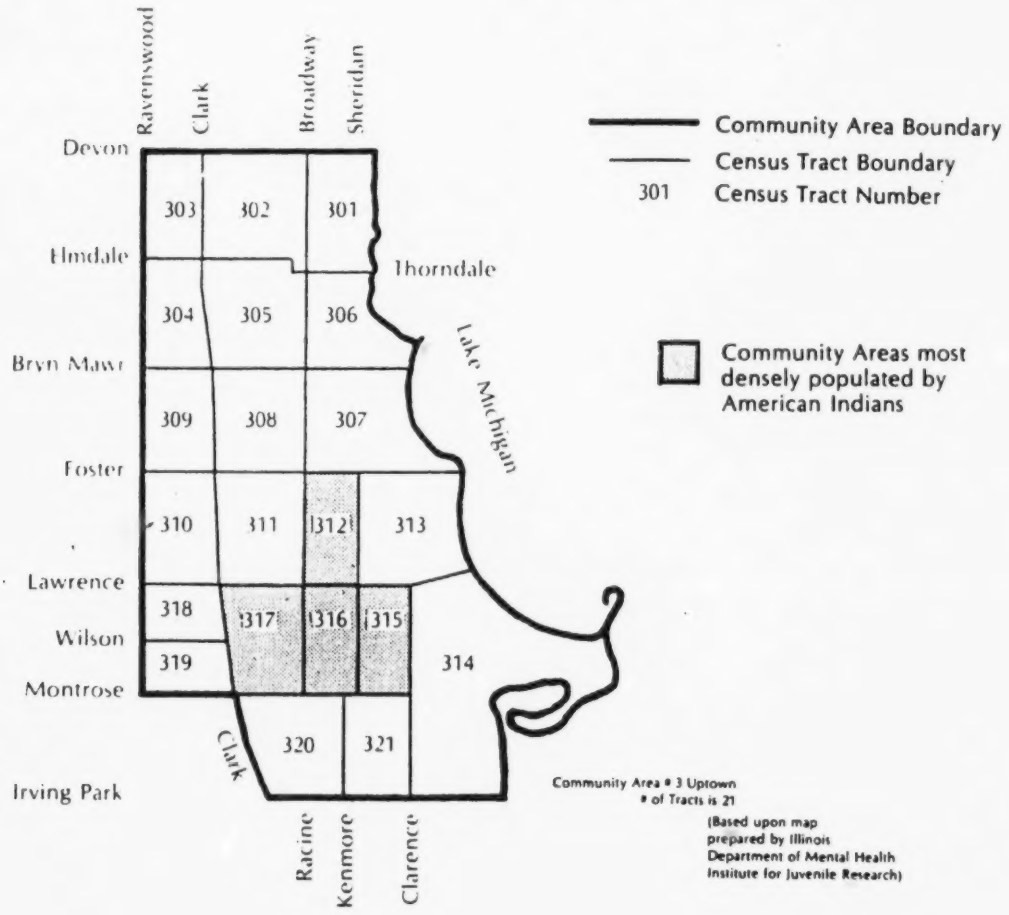
Map 2. Uptown Community Area Indicating Census Tracts With High Concentrations of American Indians, 1980.



demands of urban living led to hardship. A transient lifestyle became the dominant mode of urban life for many American Indians who frequently moved between the city and reservations. These high mobility patterns, in combination with the utilization of minimum day-wage systems and a reluctance to participate in local welfare programs, perpetuated urban poverty and anonymity for many American Indians in Chicago.

As American Indians in Chicago became more aware of tribal diversity and common urban experiences, community bonds were formed. Social interaction provided cohesiveness, stability and structure to families and the urban community. An interest in cultural preservation and a growing urban identity provided a degree of autonomy to the Chicago American Indian community. In the last two decades, the Indian community in Chicago has undergone many changes. The dynamics of the community have become more sophisticated as social needs were identified. Over those same two decades, various interest groups evolved. The overall goal of these groups is basically the same: to identify the needs of the American Indian community and to provide services to that same community. Community agencies multiplied during that period of time and became more specialized. Today, there are an estimated twenty different programs serving the Chicago American Indian community. Unfortunately, Indian community programs operate with little support from public sources nor are Indian community needs recognized or understood. Until that happens, there will remain a tremendous need for the coordination and delivery of services to the American Indian community and for educational programs which will assist the achievement levels of Indian children and adults.

Student Profile and Program Options

"If the gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons, we will take great care to their education, instruct them in all we know, and make men of them."

Iroquois Confederacy, 1744
In response to Ben Franklin

The Chicago Public School System, like so many other large institutions, is an enormous bureaucracy. In addition to its large size, Chicago public schools are plagued by racial segregation and deteriorating facilities. The casualties of this system are the poor and minority populations of the city who do not have access to other educational options.

The Chicago Public School System spends more than $1.5 billion a year and employs one of the largest staffs in Illinois. "There are 595 schools of which 65 are high schools; 28,675 teachers teach 419,537 students. The ethnic composition is 60% Black, 24% Hispanic, 2.9% Asian, 12.9% White and .2% American Indian. Sixty-eight percent (68%) of the student population falls at or below the poverty level."[6] In addition, the drop-out, transfer and truancy rates are some of the highest in the country. William Bind has referred to the Chicago Public School System as "the worst in the nation." Nearly half of the children who enter the public schools of the city will drop out before graduating.

Over the years, the Chicago Public Schools have been the focus of criticism and controversy. Desegregation plans have been written and re-written. Some researchers have made race or ethnicity a major factor in discussions of public education in the city. "Historically, Chicago has operated a two-thereat

educational system that has segregated students based on their race."[7] In response to federal mandates to desegregate schools, the city has revamped its two-tiered system. The system now consists of selective schools and non-selective schools. The selective schools are referred to as Options for Knowledge schools while the non-selective schools are called neighborhood schools. The non- selective, or the lower tier, enrolls the majority of Chicago's students, or approximately 73% of the students in the district. These neighborhood schools usually operate on a bare bones budget, and many of these buildings are in dire need of repair and are subject to Chicago building code violations. These schools are accessible to local or neighborhood populations.

In contrast, the selective schools usually require some form of busing or personal transportation to get to school since they are not "neighborhood" schools, unless the student happens to live in close proximity to the facility and meet the admission requirements. The selective schools enforce entrance criteria which are based on measures of student potential for academic success; competition is fierce for admittance to the schools. Unfortunately, the two-tiered approach still functions to track students into academic and non-academic programs and reading, math and ACT scores for the district lag behind national norms.

American Indian students, like so many other students in the Chicago Public Schools, have not fared well. American Indian students in the Chicago Public Schools have the highest drop-out, truancy and transfer rates in the system. The educational experience of Indian students in the district has been a problem for many years, but it has not received attention until recent decades. Prior to 1970, there was no attempt to identify Indian students in the Chicago Public Schools. It was not until the advent of federal Indian education programs that the public schools began to take an interest in identifying American Indian students. In a 1970 study, only 237 (Indian) students could be located out of a population of 7,000. Most students were located in 5 Uptown schools: Goudy-54, Stewart-41, McCutcheon-52, Stockton-48, and Senn High School-19. Researchers attributed the low count to: 1) use of multiple surnames, 2) transiency, 3) reluctance to tell the whereabouts of others, 4) the difficulty of identifying Indian students from others, and 5) high transfer, drop-out and truancy rates. The limited visibility of American Indian students was also attributed to poor student tracking systems within the district.

The implementation of the Indian Education Act in the early 1970s improved the visibility of American Indian students in Chicago schools. Under Title IV, Part A, of the Act (now Title V), the school district was eligible for a per

capita payment for each Indian student enrolled in the district. In 1971, the elementary school component of the program began at O-Wai-Ya-Wa, a branch of Goudy School. A program was also started in Senn High School at approximately the same time. The Native American Committee, now dissolved, established an Alternative Education Center in 1974 with Title VI funds, providing for Indian students who had dropped out of elementary school. The Chicago Title IV projects provided a supplemental curricula in Indian history, art and music which were taught by an Indian staff.

The implementation of the Title IV/V program marked the first time that the federal government had funded a special educational initiative aimed at assisting American Indian students in public schools. The program has been in existence now for nearly 20 years, yet the overall success of the program has been difficult to measure. In one sense, the Title programs have recognized the needs of American Indian students. They have promoted parental and community involvement with the local educational system. In addition, the programs have showcased Indian culture and native role models. Despite these strengths, the program has some serious limitations. Contemporarily, the program only serves three elementary schools (Goudy, Stockton, and Arai) and one high school (Senn). Funding for the program has not kept pace with needs in the public schools. In addition, the federal government has never demanded a serious evaluation of program effectiveness and outcomes. As a result, it is very difficult to assess the success of the program. An overall assessment of the program could aid in identifying new strategies which would pay educational dividends for American Indian students. At the present time, though, one would be hard pressed to demonstrate the effectiveness of the program based on available data or school outcome variables (achievement).

For the 1989-90 school year, there were 732 identified Indian children enrolled in the Chicago Public Schools. Of these young people, 579 were in the elementary grades while 153 were high school students. Over the previous three years, this school count had remained fairly constant: 86-87 (689), 87-88 (678) and 88-89 (735). (See Figure 2). In comparison to other ethnic groups, the American Indian school population is small, yet it has the highest drop-out and transfer rate for any ethnic group in Chicago. Seventy-five percent (75%) of male students and 67.7% of female students drop out prior to the completion of high school.[8] The Chicago drop-out rate is slightly higher than the national average.

Interviews with Indian community workers in Chicago identified the following experiences or situations of American Indian children which may

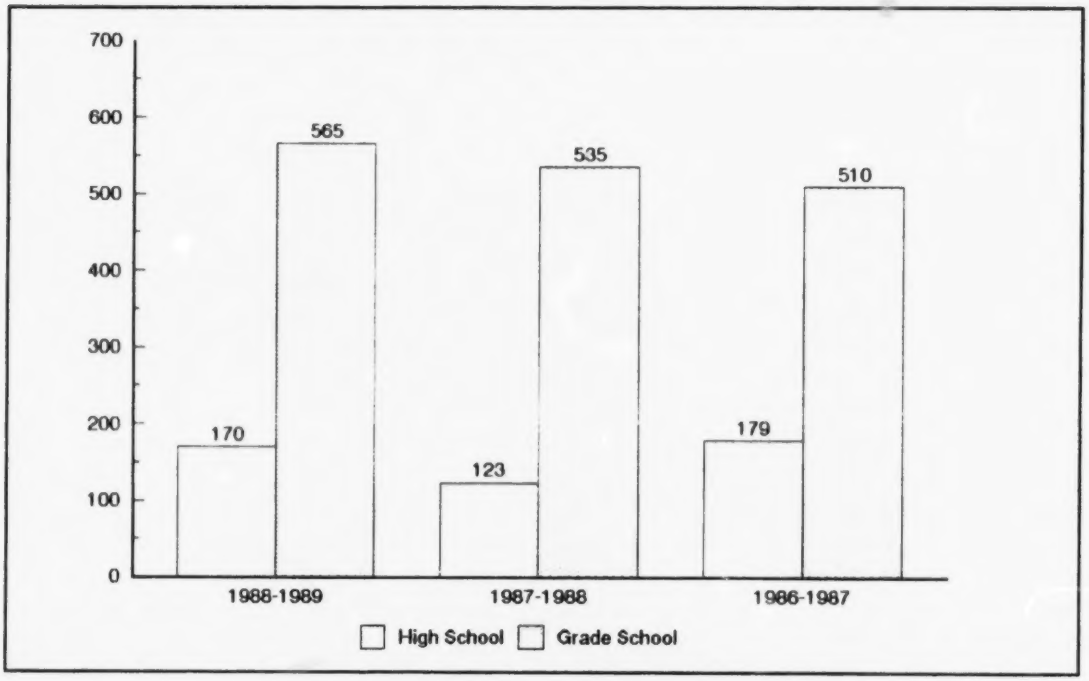
contribute to failure in school:

- Limited household income
- Dependence on income maintenance programs
- Single parent household
- Substance abuse within the home
- Court appointed foster care
- Juvenile offense
- Housing needs of family
- Teenage pregnancy
- Limited transportation, food and clothing
- Health related issues

The interviews tended to support the notion that some American Indian students live in homes that lack adequate supervision and structure. Of course, this is not a new or unique finding. The same thing has been said in reference to other low income groups over the last three decades.

Importantly, though, the interviews with community workers identified attendance as being a problem for many children who were doing poorly in school. Indian children, like all children, are at the mercy of adult caretakers to get them ready and to school on time. Children simply cannot learn if they are not in school. Due to a host of socio-economic

Figure 2. American Indian Student Enrollment in Chicago Public Schools: High School and Grade School



simply cannot learn if they are not in school. Due to a host of socio-economic and personal problems, some Indian families may be having trouble getting their children to school regularly. More importantly, a pattern is being set that, if repeated over the years, is certain to spell failure. Attendance problems are eventually demonstrated as truancy rates and American Indians in Chicago have been identified as having the highest truancy rates in the city. The correlation between attendance, truancy and achievement is an important one and will be discussed in the recommendation section.

In any discussion of American Indian students in Chicago, the efforts of the Chicago Catholic Archdiocese merit some recognition. In the 1988-89 school year, the parochial school system enrolled 415 American Indian students (300 elementary and 115 high school), which is over half the number (735) enrolled in Chicago's public schools. The parochial schools enroll a significant percentage of American Indian students in the city. A spokesperson for the Catholic Board of Education stated that there is not a mandated policy for ethnic identification in Archdiocese schools. Each school has the discretion to survey and report ethnic enrollment and related issues. The number of Indian students reported in parochial schools may be somewhat skewed because of this policy, but unquestionably the highest groups of American Indian students are enrolled in St. Gregory, St. Mary of the Lake, St. Raphael, and St. Thomas. All of these schools are located within or in close proximity to the Uptown areas and are listed as target intervention schools in the American Indian truancy program. Indian parents interviewed regarding their children's experience with the parochial schools reported the schools as more "positive and beneficial" in comparison to Chicago Public Schools. Based on sketchy data, it does appear that the parochial schools are more successful in educating American Indian students and that these same students go on to complete programs in higher education. Of course, there are a host of factors responsible for student success in these schools which are difficult to identify. The fact remains, however, that parochial schools are educating a sizable percentage of American Indian students in Chicago and their methods of promoting educational success should not be overlooked in the discussion of Indian education.

Success has also resulted from a new program implemented in the Chicago Public Schools under the initiative of American Indian community leaders. The program is the Audubon School Project and it is housed in Audubon Elementary School. Initially, this program was proposed to the Board of Education by community members as a specialized school for American Indian children in the Uptown area. The program began in 1988-89 and sought to bring together a

large number of the Indian children who were already enrolled in Uptown schools. An additional staff member was hired to coordinate the program and to ensure that cultural materials were being infused into the curriculum. The Audubon School Project is based on the cluster approach: congregating Indian children in one school or environment so as to facilitate a specialized academic agenda. The cluster approach is thought to bridge the cultural and academic needs of the children. Changes in the curriculum and course offerings in the Audubon Project have led to the school being re-classified as an Option for Knowledge program.

In 1989, 60 American Indian children had been enrolled in the Audubon Project. Interestingly, non-Indian children also participate in the specially designed Indian component of the program. A parent committee monitors the project and makes recommendations regarding policy and curriculum. Evaluating the success of the Audubon Project is very difficult since it has been operating for a short period of time. Evaluation of the project has also been hampered by the lack of achievement-related data on the children who transferred into the program. Community support for the Audubon Project remains high, and given time, this project may well prove to be a solid educational experience for American Indians in Chicago schools.

In addition to new initiatives like the Audubon Project, there is a range of special programs providing service to American Indian students in the Chicago schools. One of the most prominent is the Truancy Alternative Optional Education Program (TAOEP) at the American Indian Center, which has been servicing Indian students since 1983. Truancy has been a problem in the Uptown schools in the last two decades. American Indian truancy, in particular, was addressed in a report prepared for the Illinois Board of Education, entitled *Truancy in Illinois Public Schools*, published in April, 1985.

> "Educational Service Region 14, District 299 (Chicago) is the central location for TAOEP and the Chicago American Indian community. This district has been designated as a high priority area by the Illinois State Board of Education and ranked number one (1) in terms of chronic truants reported (6,900) as well as all truants reported (18,112)."[9]

The Truancy Program was designed to reduce the truancy/drop-out rate for identified schools. Grades K-12 are included for service in the program, and counseling, tutoring and cultural and recreational activities are provided for enrolled students. At the present time there are 140 American Indian students

enrolled in the program and staff members monitor daily attendance and school performance. The staff also maintains a constant dialogue with teachers and related school personnel. The program is evaluated on the basis of student performance (report cards and passing marks) and an overall decrease in truancy rates. The program has had an impact on reducing truancy and drop-out rates, yet could be strengthened by hiring additional staff and contracting additional professional services. (See Table 1).

In addition to the Truancy Program, there are a few after school and summer programs available to Indian children. Many of these programs are recreational but include incentives for school performance.

American Indian students in Chicago Public Schools are failing academically for a number of reasons. Some reasons are tied to the system, while some are related to the social and economic conditions of a portion of the Chicago American Indian community. It is not the purpose of this report to fix blame, rather, to propose alternatives or courses of action which will alleviate or decrease the frequency of the problem. It is imperative that American Indian children achieve in the public schools. For most children, this is the only avenue available to obtain an education which will prepare them for meaningful employment and/or higher education. In the recommendations section of this report, suggestions are offered which can make a difference in the educational attainment of Indian children. Some of those recommendations are intended to bolster and build upon what has already been initiated by the State of Illinois, the Chicago Public Schools, and the Chicago American Indian community.

Table 1. TRUANCY PROGRAM SCHOOLS

Identified target schools with registered program participants
American Indian Truancy Program

Public Elementary Schools in Chicago

District 1:
- Arai Middle
- Bateman
- Goudy
- Greeley
- Haugan
- Kilmer
- McPherson
- Stockton
- Swift
- Trumbull
- Volta
- Waters

District 3:
- Bell
- Franklin
- Hamilton
- Inter-American
- LaSalle
- Newberry
- Ravenswood

District 4:
- Hay

District 5:
- Linne
- James Monroe
- Pierce

District 6:
- Kosciuszko
- Near North Sp. Ed.

District 8:
- Shields

District 13:
- Seward

Public High Schools in Chicago

District 31:
- Amundsen
- Lakeview
- Lane Tech
- Madam Curie
- Richards Voc. Tech.
- Roosevelt
- Schurz
- Senn/Little Big Horn
- Taft

Alternative Schools in Chicago
- Prologue
- Truman Middle School

Indian Boarding Schools not in Chicago
- Flandreau Indian H.S.
  South Dakota
- Kicking Horse Job Corps
  Montana
- Riverdale Indian School
  Oklahoma
- Wahpeton Indian School
  North Dakota

Parochial Schools in Chicago
- St. Gregory
- St. Mary of the Lake
- St. Raphael
- St. Thomas

The Data Problem

"You, who are wise, must know that different Nations have different conceptions of things; and you will therefore not take it amiss, if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the same with yours."

Iroquois Confederacy, 1744
In response to Ben Franklin

Throughout the period of community and school-based research, the "data gap," with regard to American Indian students has been clear. While the following pages incorporate the most recent statistical data on American Indian students in Chicago public and Catholic schools, it must be noted that this is virtually all the data that are presently available. A major recommendation developed in this report is that Indian organizations must begin to record and analyze data not otherwise available, specifically data on student performance and on tracking particular students through the system from entry to graduation or drop-out. The Truancy Alternative Program at the American Indian Center might be a good starting point to initiate data collection on current and continuing students. Such data, according to both community members and to the advisory committee for this project, are certain to be reliable in a way that the data kept by the Chicago and Illinois Boards of Education or the U.S. Department of Education cannot possibly be. A high degree of reliability in data collection can be achieved by monitoring the American Indian students already enrolled in the Truancy Program at the American Indian Center and building upon this tracking system over time. Finally, when the 1990 US Census tapes become available, a report similar to the one compiled by Bryan Marozas should be prepared for purposes of

comparison.

As pointed out in other sections of this report, a major issue for Indians in education or any other arena is "invisibility." We have learned in the past months that this invisibility extends to data collection and analysis. In part, this report is intended to begin to fill the "data gap" in Indian education, and it must establish the reality of that gap and the resultant lack of attention to Indian concerns in educational policy in Chicago.

There are at least four causes of the "data gap." First, the "racial" category "American Indian and Alaska Native" has only been included in record-keeping for the last 10-20 years. Prior to that, American Indians were counted as "other minority" and thus not identifiable in statistical tabulations. For this and other reasons, American Indian students are commonly not recognized as such and do not become part of the data. Examples of this are to be found in Title V certification records. Three years ago, NAES/Chicago reviewed and corrected the list of Indian students eligible for Title V funding in Chicago. Prior to this initiative, less than half of the Indian students had been counted within Chicago Public Schools. In private schools, this is also the case. At the University of Chicago Laboratory Schools, for example, there are at least 4 students of American Indian heritage, and only one of them is identified on school lists.

Even with a more accurate accounting of Indian students, the number would still be small in relationship to black, white, Latino and Asian student populations in the city. Educational policy, of course, focuses on the "greatest good for the greatest number," and American Indians do not represent a large percentage of the total students.

In addition, American Indians do not often complain of unfair treatment or the problems they face in the educational process. Karen Vierneisel, of the Elementary and Secondary Schools Division of Civil Rights in the Chicago office of the U.S. Department of Education, reported that in her eleven years in the department, she cannot recall a single Indian case or complaint. An Indian complaint would end up in her department. The absence of such complaints reinforces the "invisibility" of Indian students in the Chicago Public Schools.

There is a lack of data on American Indians because the Indian population is relatively small and relatively silent. Additionally, there is a lack of SIGNIFICANT data. For example, when you have a school population of 2, as is the case for American Indians in some elementary and high schools in the Chicago Public School system, if one leaves, the cohort drop-out rate becomes 50%, but the figure is not statistically acceptable because the sample of two is considered too small for

statistical representation. The problem here may best be illustrated by national data on dropout by sex. It has been argued that the best predictor of success in Chicago public high schools is that you are female: the dropout rate for males is much greater than that for females. However, when the actual data are examined for American Indian and Alaskan Native students, "the margin of error for these estimates was so large that these differences were not statistically significant."[10] Or, as Vance Grant of the National Center for Educational Statistics pointed out, "Small groups are subject to a lot of sampling errors, so they do not calculate the rates for them." There is not a great deal of statistical data; and what there is has a large margin of error due to the small sample size.

Additionally, there is error in the information, itself. For example, as a part of the research project, a survey of American Indian students in Chicago area high schools was undertaken. Lane Tech leads the list with 46 American Indian students, only one of whom is male, 45 of whom are female (89-90 school year). When inquiry was made at the school to find out if any of the 46 students might be graduating in spring, 1991, the school indicated that the data had been coded incorrectly and there were nowhere near that number of Indian students at Lane. In the past, figures for American Indians were confused by data from East Indians living in America, who also (and reasonably) self-identified as "American Indians." Public awareness in this area has reduced this source of error in recent years. Existing data on Indian student achievement, moreover, may be reported in such a way as to be submerged in other data. School report cards, for example, which give achievement scores and other important information about Chicago Public School students, do not provide any racial breakout of those statistics. We can describe the schools in which Indian children are enrolled, but not the achievement of Indian students within those schools.

Finally, the problem of the unavailability of existing data must be mentioned. As Coleman notes,

> "Government agencies...are sometimes blatant in their attempts to ensure that data from research they have commissioned not be used in ways that can hurt them. Techniques used to avoid this may include the use of small, compliant research organizations, often wholly dependent on the agency for their existence and seldom associated with a university; they may also include the use of extensive red tape to block access to data by outsiders; and they may include the burying of report results which are inimical to agency

interests."[11]

The second of these "tactics" was experienced by the research team when attempting to acquire Title IV/V evaluations held by the Chicago Public Schools. While these are public documents and presumably available elsewhere, they were unavailable from the Chicago Board. Such intentional obstruction may also have occurred within the context of one particular school. However, in most cases, with persistent efforts at contacting key people, research staff were supportive and helpful. Obstruction of access via red tape WAS an issue in this project, but it must be seen as counterbalanced by supportive personnel in the Chicago Public Schools.

What follows is a look at the available enrollment figures, achievement and dropout rates of Indian students in Chicago. The statistical description is suspect by virtue of sampling error and inaccurate data. It is extremely important to establish the reality of the "data gap" in Indian education. The data gap must be seen as yet another manifestation of the problem of "invisibility" of American Indians.

Student Enrollment

In 1989-90, 2200 American Indian students were listed as enrolled in public schools in the state of Illinois. The Chicago Public Schools count 565 in elementary schools and 170 in high schools, for a total of 735 or 42% of the Illinois Indian total. As is clear from the enrollment by school figures which follow, the Indian student population is widely dispersed throughout the system. This is particularly true in high schools, where many report only one or two Indian students. It should be noted that an effort to cluster American Indian students in order to provide them with support for improving achievement and for continuing in school began within the last two years. The resultant student population at the "receiving school," Audubon, was 58 in the fall, 1989. Subsequently, up to 17% of those students have transferred out of the program, for reasons unknown.

In 1980, the percent of the Indian population in Chicago which was of school age (5-19 yrs.) was 30% of SMSA. The 1980 census reported 6,804 American Indians in the city in 1980. Thus, the school age population of American Indians is plus or minus 1,633.

Since only 735 American Indian students are enrolled in Chicago public schools, it seems clear that *there is a large number of children not enrolled in school or somehow lost to the record keepers within the system.* All of these children

cannot be accounted for in parochial schools or other private or federally supported schools.

It is also interesting to point out that, within the public school system, there is a considerable discrepancy between elementary and secondary school enrollment. (Only 170 of the 735 American Indians recognized in Chicago Public Schools are in high school.) Part of this, of course, is due to the fact that elementary schools include 8 grade levels, while high schools include only 4. A 50% drop in enrollment figures between elementary school and high school must be expected on this account. However, even doubling the 1989-90 high school enrollment to account for this yields a high school enrollment of only 52% of the elementary school population. The figures are even more dramatic if the 46 students miscounted at Lane Tech High School are subtracted from the 170 figure, yielding an enrolled high school population of only 124 or 14% of the total population of Indian children in school and 17% of Indian elementary school enrollment. *Enrollment clearly drops off before and during high school.*

Within the age bracket 5-19 yrs, the percentage of the American Indian and Alaskan Native youth enrolled in school in metropolitan areas around the country is close to 100% for the years 7-8, 9-10, 11-12, and 13-14; it is above 85% for the years 5-6 and 15-16. Under 5 years, however, it is only 15.5%: at 17-18, it has dropped to 60.6% and at 19 is only 28.3%.[12] There is no reason to suspect that percentages in Chicago diverge from those in other metropolitan areas of the sample.

This analysis of census data then concurs with our conclusions above: we concur with Snipp that *"While primary school attendance is almost universal among children, this is by no means the case for secondary school enrollment."* [13] Furthermore, very few children under 5 are enrolled in schools. On the other end of the spectrum, 16 yrs. is usually the earliest age at which students may legally withdraw from school: school enrollments for 15-16 yr. olds are significantly lower than those of 13-14 yr. olds. (88.3% from 97.9%) and another sharp drop occurs at 17-18 (60.6%). Of the Indian population 19 yrs. old, only 28.3% are enrolled in school. Throughout the country, on and off reservations, in metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas, more than two-thirds of the Indian population 19 yrs. of age are not enrolled in school. (See Table 2.)

Overall, public school enrollment in Chicago elementary and secondary schools declined significantly from fall, 1971 to fall, 1981. The decrease in Illinois exceeded the national average, declining 19.1%. At the same time, the number of public schools in the state declined only 3.5%. Nationally, however, the number of American Indians and Alaskan Natives 25 yrs. old and over

Table 2. Percentage of American Indian and Alaskan Native Youths Aged 19 and Under Enrolled in School, 1980 (Table adapted from Snipp, 1989).

Age	Metropolitan	Non-Metropolitan	Off Reservation	On or Near Reservations
0-4	15.5	12.5	14.0	14.1
5-6	85.2	83.8	83.7	84.8
7-8	98.3	96.4	98.3	96.5
9-10	98.8	96.5	98.4	97.2
11-12	98.5	96.6	98.8	96.5
13-14	97.9	94.4	98.1	94.7
15-16	88.3	85.9	89.0	85.5
17-18	60.6	57.9	58.7	60.1
19	28.3	30.6	29.7	28.6

reporting 12 years of schooling completed more than doubled between 1970 and 1980, from 22.0% to 55.5%. The national figure for 1980 is close to that reported in Chicago (53%).[14] Of course, enrollment and educational attainment must not be confused, but the minority breakouts in previous decades do not include a category for American Indians (except, of course, as "other") and the figures do suggest an increasing enrollment of American Indians over the past two decades, to account for the increased percentage reporting school completion. An expanded chart of percentage of American Indians and Alaskan Natives aged 25 yrs. and older with 12 or more years of education completed, by age group, is included for review. (See Table 3 and Figure 3).

The percentage of American Indians completing 12 years of education increases steadily for age groups from over 70 down to 25-30, for males from 22.5% to 78.5%, for females from 28.5% to 78.8%.This indicates that enrollment has increased significantly over the past 50 yrs. Enrollment in private (including parochial) schools has been growing since the 1970s.[15] These figures, however, do not focus on American Indian students and may well not be representative of them. They also cannot account for the total increase in enrollment.

Table 3. Percentage of American Indians and Alaska Natives Aged 25 and Over with 12 or More Years of Education Completed, by Age Group (from Marozas, 1984)

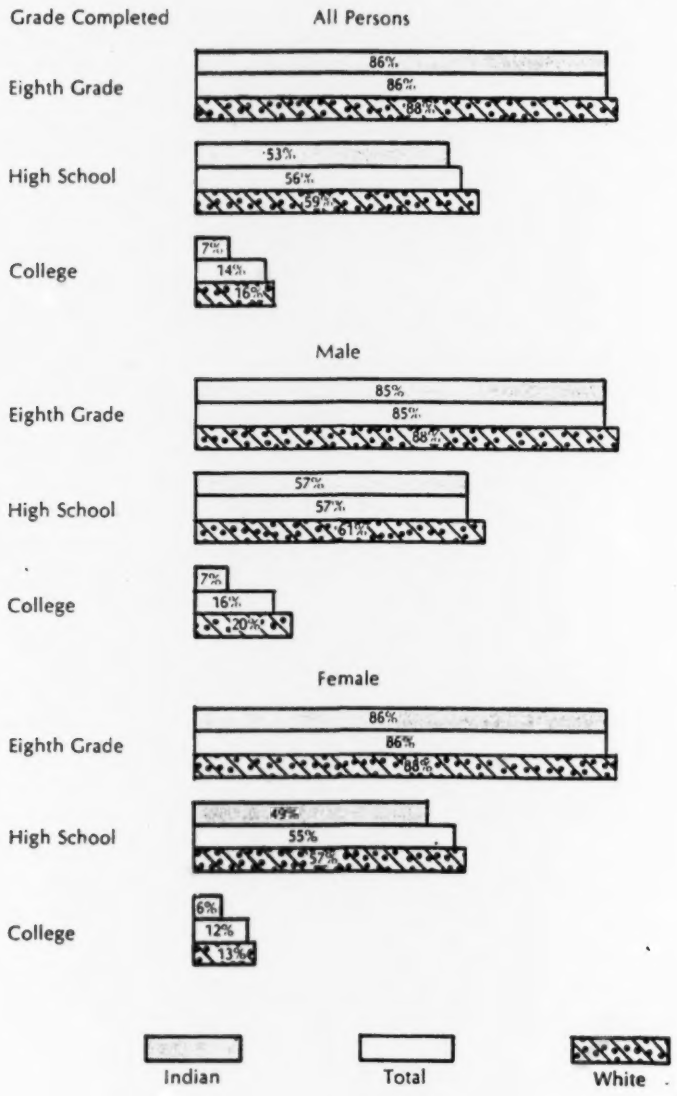
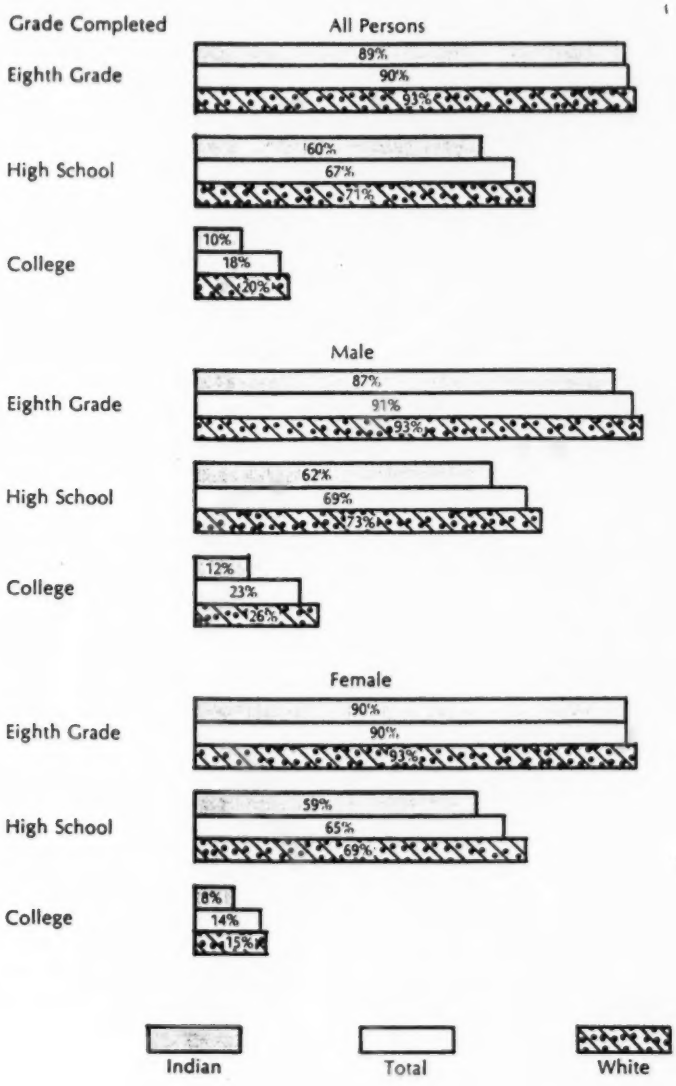


Figure 3. Levels of Education Achieved by Members of Chicago's American Indian, White and Total Population Aged 25 Years Old and Over (from Marozas, 1984)



A final set of observations concerning American Indian enrollment in Chicago public schools addresses age at entry to high school. In 1982, 43 or 57.3% of American Indians entering public high schools were less than 15 years old, while 4,246 or 75.8% of whites were less than 15 yrs. old. Twenty six (26) or 34.7% were 15 yrs. and 6 or 8% were more than 15 yrs. old. Forty three percent (43%) of Indians enrolling in public high schools in 1982, then, were overage, a figure comparable to that of Hispanics but considerably higher than that of all other racial categories.

Considering enrollment trends, it can be discerned that the proportion of American Indians enrolled in schools in Chicago has increased slowly but regularly over the past 50 years. Where the proportion of males first exceeded that of females, the proportion of females now exceeds that of males completing 12 yrs. of school. Some of the increase is due to enrollment in non-public schools, especially parochial schools; but there is also a significant increase in public school enrollment. Enrollment in elementary schools, moreover, far outnumbers enrollment in secondary schools, even when the figures are corrected for the difference in numbers of grades. Close to 100% of all Indian children aged 7-15 are enrolled in school. There is clearly a drop off in enrollment after age 16, and less than a third of Indian students report enrollment after age 19. Of American Indians entering public high schools in 1982, 43% were overage. It is clear, moreover, that:

> "... exposure to educational institutions is not a new development among American Indians. However, mass education for American Indians is relatively new. Between 1900 and 1930 school attendance by American Indians aged 5-20 increased from 40 to 60 percent. By 1980 this figure exceeded 90 percent. Furthermore, Indian control over Indian schools is a recent development, which spread most rapidly during the 1970s. Another important point is that American Indians have made significant strides in secondary schooling. Comparing 1980 with 1970 statistics shows a remarkable increase in the numbers of Indians reporting a high school education. On the other hand, younger American Indians are highly prone to drop out of high school and are not inclined to attend college, even if they complete high school. The rise in secondary school completion may be due to growing numbers of American Indians obtaining GED diplomas." [16]

Achievement

Assessment of achievement in the Chicago Public schools is presently measured by graduation, retention and cognitive testing. That is, progress means staying in school, completing school, and improving scores on standardized achievement tests. With regard to the data gap on Indian education and specifically Indian education in Chicago, it is interesting to note that every two years the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Education requires school systems to report graduation rates for minority groups, including American Indians. The last set of reports, for the year 1988-89, from Chicago public schools does not include graduation rates. Individual schools elected, or were advised to, avoid responding to that requirement.

We know, however, that graduation from 8th grade by no means ensures entry into or completion of high school. While we can hypothesize that the better students will continue on in school, it is clear that retention and graduation in elementary school is considerably higher than in high school for American Indian children. High school success is generally associated with 8th grade reading levels or test-measured achievement in elementary school. Throughout the Chicago public schools, high school retention increases significantly with high 8th grade reading levels: only 18.3% of high school dropouts are accounted for by students testing at a reading stanine of 6+.

Concerning graduation from high school, only 3 graduates of the 170 students enrolled, or 1.8% of high school students, will graduate from Chicago public high schools this year. It should be clearly stated here that achievement, measured by test scores, has not been obtained for American Indian students in Chicago.

It is interesting to examine the graduation statistics for the new clustered Options for Knowledge program at Audubon. Of four students eligible for graduation this year, only one is likely to graduate: three will probably be retained. Since this program is only one year old, though, it is very difficult to generalize regarding this trend. Achievement test scores for Indian students in Audubon should be available, but other than early reports quoting the teacher involved with Indian children as saying that those in her group had improved their scores considerably, we have not been able to get access to the actual data.

A statement made to one of the project researchers by an administrator of Audubon School seems accurately to reflect the overall achievement picture for Indian students in the Chicago Public Schools. When asked to release test score data, he remarked that "(the instructor) says the little kids are doing O.K." That summarizes the situation not just at Audubon School, but throughout the city: *the little kids are doing O.K.; the older kids are NOT*. Nationally, based on 1980 census data, the percent of Indian students behind their age level in

Table 4. School Progress of American Indians and Alaskan Natives Aged 5-18, 1980 (Adapted from Snipp, 1989)

	Metropolitan		Nonmetropolitan		Off Reservation		On or Near Reservation	
Age	Behind	Ahead or On Time	Behind	Ahead or On Time	Behind	Ahead or On Time	Behind	Ahead or On Time
5-6	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
7-8	4.3	95.7	6.4	93.6	4.8	95.2	5.8	94.2
9-10	8.9	91.1	11.0	89.0	9.5	90.5	10.3	89.7
11-12	9.3	90.7	15.7	94.3	10.3	89.7	14.1	85.9
13-14	11.5	88.5	20.1	79.9	12.8	87.2	17.9	82.1
15-16	17.7	82.3	25.7	74.3	18.0	82.0	24.5	75.5
17-18	33.0	67.0	41.0	59.0	33.6	66.4	39.4	60.6

academic progress is 0% for 5-6 yr. old, but 33.0% for 17-18 yr. olds, with incremental increases in the intervening years. (See Table 4)

Indian student achievement in private (including parochial) schools may be expected to be higher than that in Chicago Public Schools. As Coleman convincingly demonstrated in 1982, achievement scores throughout the country in Catholic schools impressively outpaced achievement for children in the public school system.

Students in public high schools actually LOST ground between 10th and 12th grades. They begin in 10th grade at approximately the national average, but by 12th grade fall below that average in reading, vocabulary and math. Students in the Catholic system, on the contrary, remained at or above the national average in 12th grade. (See Table 5).

The Chicago Archdiocese does not keep educational statistics by racial category, so we are unable to specify achievement scores of American Indian children in Catholic Schools in Chicago. However, drawing on the Coleman study and individual interviews with Indian parents in the Chicago area, we conclude that achievement is greater in the Catholic school system, both in terms of graduation rate and in terms of cognitive test scores.

Unfortunately, data which could support any strong conclusions regarding achievement are currently not available for assessment. There is little doubt though, after reviewing retention figures and high school enrollments, that the general achievement norms for American Indian students in the Chicago public schools fall behind national norms. Indian students are not achieving in Chicago public schools, and this is supported by high dropout and low retention rates.

Table 5. Mean Scores on Subtests for Seniors and Sophomores, Spring, 1980

	U.S. Total		Major Sectors				High-Performance Schools			
			Public		Private		Public		Private	
	Grade		Grade		Grade		Grade		Grade	
Subtest	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12	10	12
Reading	3.67	4.54	3.60	4.48	4.32	5.34	4.85	5.77	6.06	6.71
Vocabulary	3.78	4.58	3.69	4.48	4.78	5.56	5.11	6.24	6.65	7.22
Mathematics	9.56	10.80	9.40	10.63	11.28	12.74	12.53	13.76	15.09	16.38

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School Dropout Rates

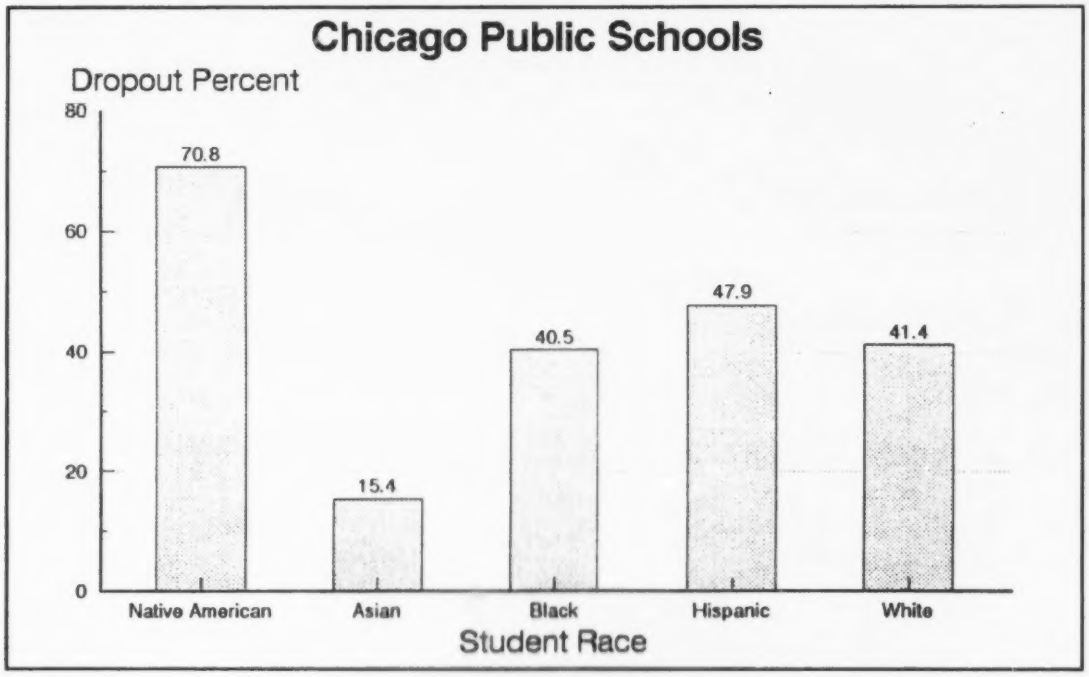
Any discussion of dropout rates must necessarily include a statement of the **various** dropout rates which can be and are commonly calculated. Without an understanding of the meanings of these different rates, the figures make no sense. We might read, for example, that the national dropout rate for American Indians is 35%, and indeed, that figure is frequently reported. Yet Dean Chavers, from the Coalition for Indian Education, reports a 65-69% dropout rate in New Mexico schools, a problem he largely accounts for in terms of the orientation of the teaching staffs in local schools, and we read in the *Chicago Sun Times* that the dropout rate in Chicago is 70.8%. Can the school climate in the state of New Mexico or the city of Chicago be so bad that the dropout rate is twice the national average for Indian students?

Three kinds of dropout rates are typically established: the event rate, a measure of how many children enrolled one year ago have since dropped out without obtaining a diploma or equivalency certificate; the status rate, a measure of how many individuals are dropouts at any given point in time, regardless of when they left school (which includes, of course, the event rates); and the cohort rate, measuring dropouts in terms of particular grade level cohorts (how many students who entered as Freshmen in 1982, for example, dropped out before graduation).

The 35.5% national dropout rate for Indian students cited in the last newsletter from the Coalition for Indian Education (June, 1990), is a **cohort dropout rate.** Specifically, it is the cohort dropout rate for 1980 sophomores.

In Chicago Public Schools, the Dropout Study focused on American Indian cohorts entering high school in 1982. Of those 75 students who entered Chicago public high schools in 1982, only 14 were graduated by 1986; 34 had dropped out by 1986, four years later, for a *cohort dropout rate of 70.8%.* (See Figure 4) This rate was reported in the Chicago Sun Times and was rapidly quoted by advocates for Indian education. A careful examination will reveal that it is not precisely comparable to the *35% national Indian dropout rate.* (See Figure 5). Two factors must be considered here: the national cohort dropout rate followed the status of 1980 sophomores, thus bypassing the significant drop already established between Freshman and Sophomore years due to the attainment of 16 yrs., the legal age for dropout. We would have to expect, then, that a rate established for Freshmen entering in 1982 would be considerably higher than the rate established for Sophomores who had

Figure 4. Dropout Rate for Chicago Public Schools by Race

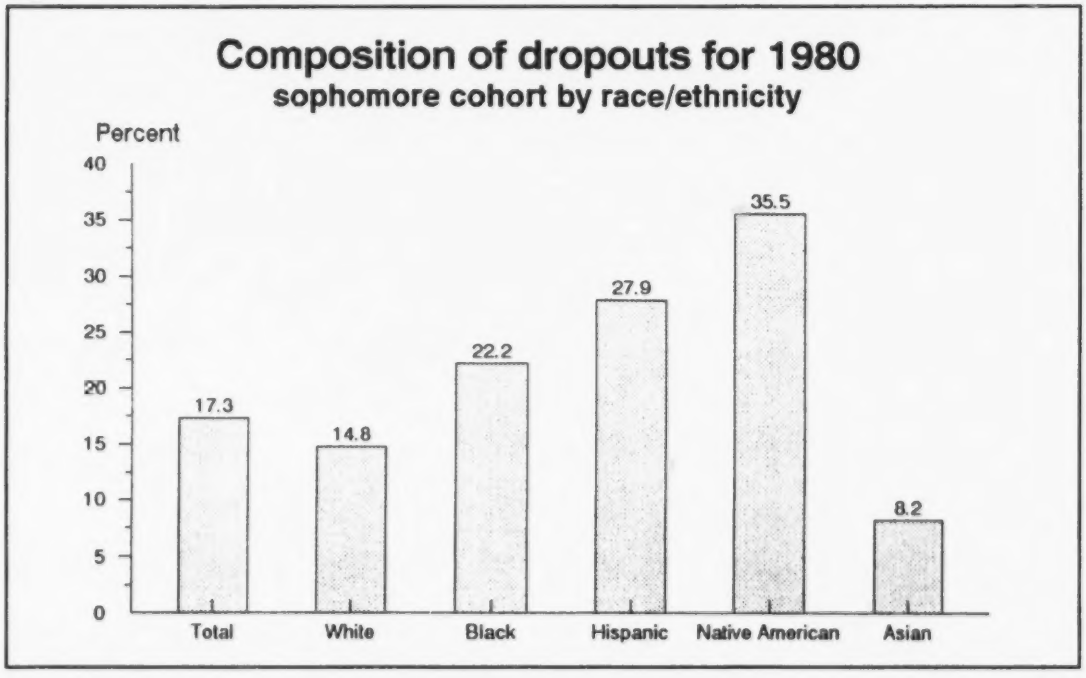


entered previously and remained in school until 1980, since that rate would include all who drop out upon attaining legal age. That is, of those who were still in school in 1980 (at 16 yrs. or more), 35.5% had dropped out by the time that class should have graduated in 1982. The Chicago data take the initial enrollment of Freshmen in 1982, and measure the rate four years later, including all dropouts during those years.

Furthermore, the Chicago rate of 70.8% refers specifically to students enrolled in Chicago Public Schools, while the national rate includes all students. We have already indicated that Indian students tend to stay in school and progress more consistently in non-public than in public schools. This difference in the sample clearly is significant in accounting for the discrepancy.

It is not, then, that the Chicago dropout rate is so much higher than the national dropout rate of Indian high school students (twice the rate, to be precise), but rather that different cohorts and different measures in different years were being used. The same kind of statistical issues account for the New Mexico figures. The figures are not really

Figure 5. Dropout Rate for Sophomore Cohort by Race, 1980

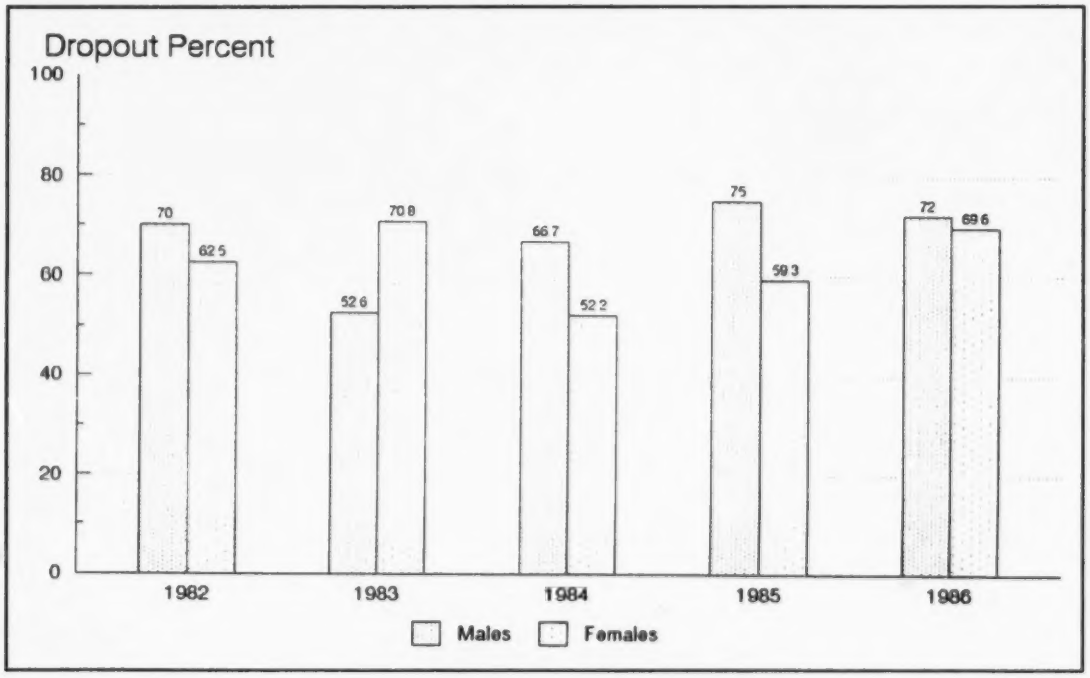


comparable: what and who is measured differs and thus accounts for much of the discrepancy. Both figures have a good degree of accuracy, but each must be used appropriately. There is no one "dropout rate"; there are many different measures calculated and quoted.

Other figures available on Chicago high school dropout are from particular schools which DID report graduation and dropout rates for the four year period for the 1982 entering Freshman class. Four schools are mentioned here, specifically the four with the greatest American Indian student populations in the city in 1989-90.

Lane, with an Indian cohort of 3, lost none of these students to dropout in the four year period, for a dropout rate of 0%. Amundsen Technical High School reported 4 American Indian students in the 1982 Freshman cohort, 2 of whom dropped out in the four year period, making the dropout rate 50%. Senn, reporting 4 in the cohort, lost 3 for a dropout rate of 75% and Mather, reporting 2, lost both for a 100% dropout rate. (See Tables 6a, 6b, 6c and 6d at the end of this section.)

Figure 6. American Indian Dropout Rate by Sex for Chicago



Dropout rates for these schools varied from 0% to 100%. The 75% dropout rate reported for Senn has been commonly quoted in the Indian community, Senn being the locus of community attention and the school housing Little Big Horn, a Title V program to support Indian students in Chicago. It must be remembered, however, that *the 75% dropout rate at Senn High School* is based on a total population of only four students. Nonetheless, there is obviously a problem getting Indian children through high school in the Chicago public schools.

There are statistical and reporting problems with existing dropout data on American Indian high school students in Chicago. However, it is clear that the situation is grim. At Senn, which had a Title V Indian education program to enhance Indian student retention and achievement, the cohort dropout rate in the 1986 study was 75%. This high rate clearly indicates the magnitude of the dropout problem faced by Indians in the Chicago public schools. Without question, *the high school dropout problem for American Indian students in Chicago is greater than for any other ethnic/racial category.* Furthermore, contrary to popular opinion, dropout rates have been declining over the past ten years among both blacks and whites: they have not declined for Latinos and they have, in Chicago, increased for American Indians. The problem is enormous and *past solutions have not worked for Indian students.*

Trends in dropout rates for American Indians in Chicago can be evaluated based on yearly changes in the cohort dropout rate from the entering class of 1978 (1982 graduating class) to the present. The most recent figures, 1988-89, do not include graduation figures and thus cannot be used to calculate cohort dropout rates. (See Figure 6).

As is so commonly the case with Indian statistics, the total population in each sample was small, so fluctuations in rates may be due to sampling size rather than to significant changes in dropout.

It is certainly clear though that, given minor fluctuations, *American Indian dropout rates have remained at the same disproportionately high level over the past decade*, while enrollment has increased. The dropout rate has, seemingly, been unaffected by the many support programs over the past decade.

Some comments can be offered concerning the reasons for the high dropout rate for Indian students. Virtually all of the factors identified as associated with high dropout rates characterize the Chicago American Indian population: low socioeconomic status; single parent homes; mobility; low average reading levels at 8th grade graduation; overage students; failure of two or more courses. These factors are

sufficient to account for the dropout rate, and it is unnecessary and perhaps unwise to include "cultural" issues. Special, culturally oriented programs have been available to Indian students in Chicago for 19 years, yet the dropout rates continue to increase.

Two factors of particular interest are singled out here as they are not as commonly discussed. First, the issue of retention of students can be put in perspective when we realize that overage students are dropout risks. It seems important, then, for parents and schools to work out remediation plans for children at risk of being retained, and to follow through on those plans. Secondly, the analysis of failed courses is relatively new: it is clear, now, that course failure has a heavy impact on dropout rates. Specifically, for Chicago Indian students, 100% of students dropping out in the 1982-86 study had failed 2 or more courses. (See Figure 7).

Figure 7. Percentage Dropout by Course Failure

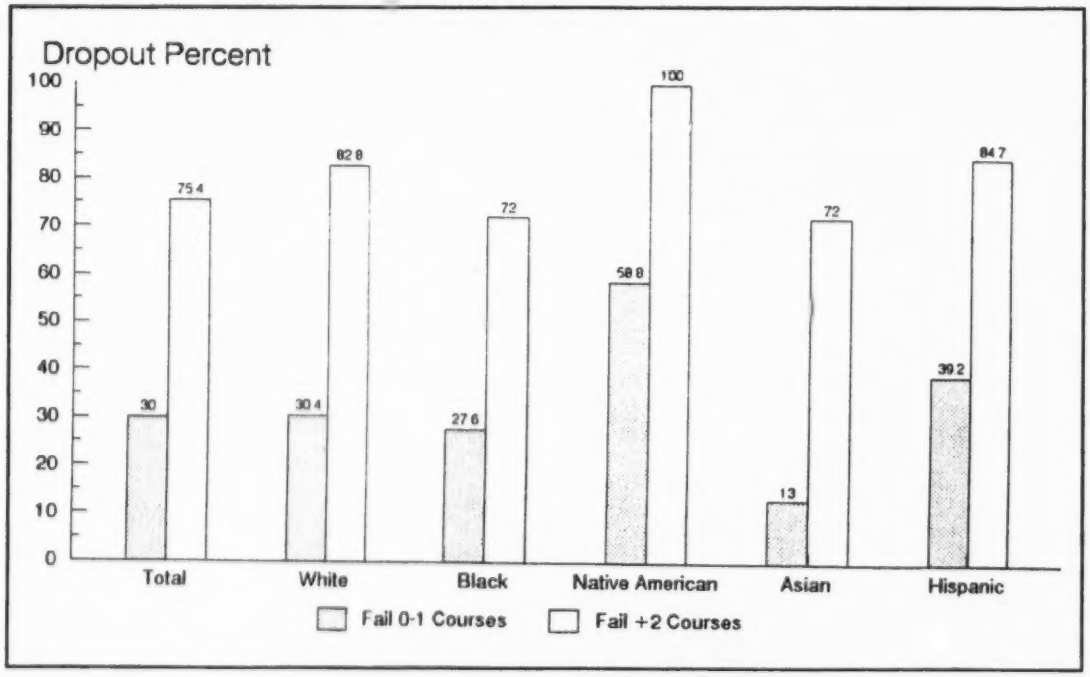


Table 6a. School Level Dropout Analysis, 1982 Entering Class, (Byrd, Chicago Public Schools, 1988.)

Amundsen High School

	Adjusted Total	Percent of Total	Number of Dropouts	Dropout Rate
Gender				
Males	141	52.4%	73	51.8%
Females	128	47.6%	51	39.8%
Entry Age				
14 or Less	175	65.1%	71	40.6%
15 or Older	94	34.9%	53	56.4%
Race				
White	161	93.6%	84	52.2%
Black	11	6.4%	6	54.5%
American Indian	4	12.5%	2	50.0%
Asian	28	87.5%	10	35.7%
Hispanic	65	69.9%	22	33.8%
Reading Level				
Stanine 1	19	25.0%	12	63.2%
Stanine 2 & 3	57	75.0%	23	40.4%
Stanine 4	57	56.4%	29	50.9%
Stanine 5	44	43.6%	18	40.9%
Stanine 6+	30	40.5%	9	30.0%

Note: Adjusted Total includes students who dropped out or graduated within four years. Percentages of students at each stanine level are based only on students for whom Iowa reading scores are available.

Scores are not available for 23.0% of students.

The overall dropout rate for this school is 46.1%.

Table 6b. School Level Dropout Analysis, 1982 Entering Class, (Byrd, Chicago Public Schools, 1988.)

Lane Technical High School

	Adjusted Total	Percent of Total	Number of Dropouts	Dropout Rate
Gender				
Males	528	51.9%	98	18.6%
Females	489	48.1%	56	11.5%
Entry Age				
14 or Less	1001	98.4%	153	15.3%
15 or Older	16	1.6%	1	6.3%
Race				
White	548	53.9%	85	15.5%
Black	144	14.2%	27	18.8%
American Indian	3	0.3%	0	0.0%
Asian	162	15.9%	7	4.3%
Hispanic	160	15.7%	35	21.9%
Reading Level				
Stanine 1	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Stanine 2 & 3	3	0.4%	0	0.0%
Stanine 4	12	1.7%	3	25.0%
Stanine 5	123	17.7%	18	14.6%
Stanine 6+	557	80.1%	85	15.3%

Note: Adjusted Total includes students who dropped out or graduated within four years. Percentages of students at each stanine level are based only on students for whom Iowa reading scores are available.

Scores are not available for 31.7% of students.

The overall dropout rate for this school is 15.1%.

Table 6c. School Level Dropout Analysis, 1982 Entering Class, (Byrd, Chicago Public Schools, 1988.)

Mather High School

	Adjusted Total	Percent of Total	Number of Dropouts	Dropout Rate
Gender				
Males	176	50.0%	27	15.3%
Females	176	50.0%	30	17.0%
Entry Age				
14 or Less	260	73.9%	35	13.5%
15 or Older	92	26.1%	22	23.9%
Race				
White	195	55.4%	34	17.4%
Black	73	20.7%	10	13.7%
American Indian	2	0.6%	2	100.0%
Asian	56	15.9%	3	5.4%
Hispanic	26	7.4%	8	30.8%
Reading Level				
Stanine 1	14	4.7%	0	0.0%
Stanine 2 & 3	38	12.6%	7	18.4%
Stanine 4	61	20.3%	10	16.4%
Stanine 5	75	24.9%	14	18.7%
Stanine 6+	113	37.5%	12	10.6%

Note: Adjusted Total includes students who dropped out or graduated within four years. Percentages of students at each stanine level are based only on students for whom Iowa reading scores are available.

Scores are not available for 14.5% of students.

The overall dropout rate for this school is 16.2%.

Table 6. School Level Dropout Analysis, 1982 Entering Class, (Byrd, Chicago Public Schools, 1988.)

Senn High School

	Adjusted Total	Percent of Total	Number of Dropouts	Dropout Rate
Gender				
Males	242	53.9%	86	35.5%
Females	207	46.1%	71	34.3%
Entry Age				
14 or Less	225	50.1%	70	31.1%
15 or Older	224	49.9%	87	38.8%
Race				
White	127	28.3%	52	40.9%
Black	91	20.3%	45	49.5%
American Indian	4	0.9%	3	75.0%
Asian	117	26.1%	22	18.8%
Hispanic	110	24.5%	35	31.8%
Reading Level				
Stanine 1	78	24.5%	33	42.3%
Stanine 2 & 3	82	25.8%	27	32.9%
Stanine 4	82	25.8%	31	37.8%
Stanine 5	40	12.6%	13	32.5%
Stanine 6+	36	11.3%	7	19.4%

Note: Adjusted Total includes students who dropped out or graduated within four years. Percentages of students at each stanine level are based only on students for whom Iowa reading scores are available.

Scores are not available for 29.2% of students.

The overall dropout rate for this school is 35.0%.

Factors Correlating with Poor Achievement

"We would like to be proud we are Indians, but ... many schools for Indian children make them ashamed they are Indians ... The schools forget these are Indian children. They don't recognize them as Indians, but treat them as though they were white children ... This makes for failure."

Ben Black Elk

Various factors have been isolated which seem to indicate students at risk in terms of poor achievement and high likelihood of dropping out. Those factors have been mentioned throughout the preceding sections, but should be reiterated. It is clear that *American Indian children in Chicago have all the risk factors associated with poor school achievement* .

The most significant factors seem to be "socioeconomic status," which is measured by income level, and overage status, which results from retention in one or more grades. Other related factors are the prevalence of single parent households, the amount of after-school time spent at home without a parent, and gender of the student. Attitudinal correlations have also been suggested and will be mentioned below.

It has been pointed out that the single most important predictor of dropping out from high school in Chicago is that the student is male. No studies have shown whether this is true for Indian students in Chicago. However, a national study indicates exactly the opposite gender pattern for Indian dropouts. Therefore, it is difficult, with information currently available, to say anything decisive about gender and dropout rates among Chicago Indian high school students.

According to the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 (NELS), six factors are strongly associated with poor performance in school and may be predictors of school dropout. These factors are a good starting point for identifying Indian students who are at risk of dropping out. The factors and the weighted percentage of the NELS;88 sample members who fall under each appear below:

a. Single parent family: 22 percent

b. Annual income less than $15,000: 21 percent

c. Home alone more than 3 hours per day: 14 percent

d. Both parents lack a high school diploma: 11 percent

e. Has a sibling who dropped out: 10 percent

f. LEP status: 2 percent[17]

Students with two or more risk factors are twice as likely as those with no risk factors to be in the lowest grades quartile (38% vs. 18%) and lowest test quartile (44% vs. 16%).[18]

Students with two or more risk factors are six times as likely as those with no risk factors to expect not to graduate from high school (4% vs. 0.6%).[19]

Nationally, American Indian and Alaskan Native students report a level of parental education considerably higher than that of Latinos and lower than that of whites. It is reported that 14.7% of Indian parents had not completed high school. The parents of 23.7% of Indian students were high school graduates. Nationally, 41.8% of Indian 8th grade students reported family income of less than $15,000. Nearly 31% reported living in single parent households as compared with 17% of white students. As for time alone at home, 20% of blacks, 19% of American Indians, and 12% of white children report being home without an adult for more than three hours a day: Asians and Hispanics fall between the extremes (16%).[20]

Locally, according to the 1980 census figures, American Indian families in Chicago were less likely to be husband/wife families than in the overall population, (55% vs. 66%). Single parent families among Indians were more common than for the total population (45% vs. 34%). Forty-three percent (43%) of Chicago Indian families with children under 18 had female heads as compared to 33% of the total population; 6% of the Indian families with children under 18 were headed by unmarried males, as compared to 5% of the general population.[21] Indian children in Chicago public schools are thus more likely to be at risk in the first listed category than the

total population.

Furthermore, the mean income of Chicago Indian families with children under 18 in the 1980 census was $13,952, and more significantly, the mean income for female householder families with no husband present and children under 18 was only $8,000. This is well below the poverty level of 1982, $9,862.[22] Overall, 27% of Chicago's American Indian families lived below poverty level in 1979, a percentage 10% higher than that in the total population and 20% higher than for white families in the city. Sixty-five percent (65%) of those Indian families living below poverty level were headed by single females, 93% of those households had children under 18.

In the Chicago Dropout study, age of entry into high school was not tabulated as "there are too few American Indians to allow meaningful comparisons."[23] But nationally, we know that 28.8% of American Indian 8th graders reported repeating at least one grade, rendering them overage for entry into high school. That was the highest percentage for any racial/ethnic group reported.[24] There is no reason to presume that the pattern is any different in Chicago schools.

It should be clear from this brief survey that *American Indian children in Chicago are likely to fall within the category of children with two or more risk factors for school success:* overage status, family income and single parent families are central among these risk factors. Nationally, 33.2% of Indian and Alaskan native children have at least one risk factor, 31.5% have two or more risk factors.[25] With two risk factors, we know that Indian students are twice as likely to be in the lower quartile in terms of grades and national tests and six times as likely to drop out before completing high school.

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Conclusion and Recommendations

The purpose of this MacArthur research study was to assess the educational condition of American Indian students in Chicago's public schools and to develop recommendations for public policy and community action to be pursed in the second year of the project. Without question, one of the first activities which should be undertaken is the development of a data system for tracking and assessing the academic achievement of American Indian students in the district. This is absolutely necessary if intervention programs are to be timely and help students.

In addition, there is a need to coordinate services to American Indian students in the Chicago public schools. This need is covered in Recommendations 1&2, but it is also evident that a host of social issues must also be addressed in conjunction with school achievement. Some members of the American Indian community who were interviewed as a part of this project have been adamant that educational problems are less problems with the educational system than they are problems in the social and personal environment of the students. Researcher, James Coleman, has noted that "various studies indicate that variation in school characteristics can account for only 10-25% of the variance in student achievement."

To address these needs parent education workshops have been suggested as Recommendation 3. Parents should know, for example, that they have the right to be notified in January if their child is in danger of being retained for the next school year. They have the right to establish a remediation plan with the school: if the school fails to follow through on the plan, parents may insist upon the promotion of their child. This information and counseling in these matters are particularly important in light of the extreme tendency for American Indian students to be overage (43% according to Dr. Bill Rice of the Research and Analysis Department of the Chicago Public Schools) and the correlation of overage status with dropping out of school.

Without question, American Indian students in the Chicago public schools are not faring well within the system. This is supported by their high drop-out, retention, and truancy rates. For these young people to have opportunity in contemporary society they must receive an education that will prepare them for meaningful employment or higher education. To date this has not happened, yet there is no reason why the situation can't be changed. The cooperation of the Chicago Public Schools, the State Board of Education and the Chicago American Indian community is imperative to changing the historic situation. Working together, these groups can create an atmosphere of trust and, more importantly, a school environment where American Indian students thrive. These young people deserve every consideration to assure that they receive an education that will prepare them for full participation in the fabric of American life.

The following recommendations could alleviate some of the educational problems of American Indian students in the Chicago public schools. These recommendations have been formulated after careful analysis of the problems that Indian students are experiencing in the Chicago public schools. In addition, educational programs which have been in operation were evaluated and some of these projects/programs will be addressed in this section. The recommendations included in this section are offered with a specific goal: To increase the educational achievement levels of American Indian students in the Chicago public schools. School outcome measures (grades, scores, etc.) are important indicators of achievement since they are constantly used by school personnel and educational institutions to evaluate student potential and placement. If a student doesn't achieve, s/he runs the risk of being tracked into less challenging curricula, or worse, failure. Students must achieve if they are going to have any chance of continuing into higher education at a rate consistent with their national peers. These suggestions, if implemented, can improve the educational performance of American Indian students. Not only will

their educational performance improve, but their opportunities in life will increas.

Recommendation #1

The Chicago public schools should create a position for a Director or Coordinator of American Indian Education. This position could be cooperatively funded with the Title V (Indian Education) Program, but it must be a formal position within the public school hierarchy. The Director/Coordinator would report to the Superintendent on all matters related to American Indian education. This position would be the contact point for monitoring and assessing the performance of American Indian students in the system and coordinating intervention measures where necessary. One of the major functions of this position would be collecting and maintaining data on the performance and attendance of American Indian students in the system. At the present time, there are serious gaps in the data record, and it is impossible to obtain a definitive picture of American Indian student achievement. This position would take responsibility for coordinating efforts throughout the Chicago Public Schools which address the needs of American Indian students; e.g., the Truancy Program and the Audubon Project. The office would be the focal point for insuring the educational success of American Indian students in the public schools. To reiterate, this position must be formalized within the school system hierarchy so as to have access to needed resources. More importantly, the position must not be viewed as "outside" the core of school system personnel. It must be viewed as an integral facet of school system operations. The first task of this position should be to conduct an assessment of Indian student performance and other factors which are negatively impacting student achievement.

Recommendation #2

The coordination of a series of meetings which would bring together personnel involved with Indian education in the city should be undertaken. These meetings should be facilitated by a professional who is not directly involved in the Chicago educational community so as to lend a sense of objectivity to the sessions. The cooperation of personnel involved with Indian education is key to understanding the problem and gaining suggestions that can alleviate duplication of services or pitfalls to constructive action. The meetings should address the problems, intervention strategies and programs that work, future needs and special programs, and on-going forms of communication. Bringing this group of professionals and paraprofessionals together would be an important step in coordinating efforts to increase the achievement levels of American Indian students.

Recommendation #3

A special project should be developed to work with American Indian parents so they can play an active role in

the educational success of their children. Parents must realize that there are certain things that they can do to insure educational performance (model behaviors, read, enroll in classes, set quiet hours for study, provide study desk with adequate lighting, etc.). In addition, parents should be made aware of current program opportunities in which their children can enroll in such as the Audubon Project, Truancy program and the summer math camp at the University of Illinois. As a part of this project, American Indian parents should be exposed to national trends in education and national educational norms. This project would actively involve American Indian parents in the education of their children. They could make a difference in their children's education. Parent support groups should be organized as a facet of this program. Assistance should be provided to those parents that are dealing with family issues which impact the educational success of their children. Parents can play an active role in these situations rather than being dictated to by social agencies when a problem arises. Parental involvement is a critical factor in the educational process. Parents of high achieving students, more often than not, take a serious interest in the schools their children attend. This has not always been the case for American Indian parents for a number of reasons. American Indian parents via this project could be encouraged and counseled to play a positive role in the education of their children thereby insuring a better economic and social future for their children.

Recommendation #4

Continue and expand intervention programs which identify American Indian students that are not achieving at normative rates in the public system. The Truancy Program, as an example, identifies students who miss school and, as a result, do poorly. All too often, though, these children are identified because of absenteeism and not poor achievement. Usually, these two factors go hand in hand although that is not always the case. A child can do poorly in school and not come to the attention of the Truancy Program. In this computer age, it is very easy to track individual student performance and intervene with tutorial or other forms of assistance. The key is rapid identification of the problem and action. Computer tracking of Indian students, and intervention where necessary, could be facilitated as a goal of the Title V Program in the Chicago public schools. It is critically important to quickly identify those students who are having difficulties and provide assistance in those situations. If this is not done, the child falls farther and farther behind, only to be retained or tracked into non-academic curricula. An intervention system which "flags" students with academic problems needs to be incorporated into the Chicago public system.

Recommendation #5

The Audubon Project needs to be evaluated to determine the success of the initiative. Community feedback supports the notion that this program is working, but evidence to support that contention needs to be generated and disseminated. The program has tremendous potential, but it must be able to demonstrate that the project is playing a positive role in the education of American Indian children.

Recommendation #6

The Chicago public schools should offer a series of in-service workshops on American Indian history and culture for teachers in the social sciences, history, arts and humanities. In addition, in-services for teachers in the sciences should be offered so that accurate information regarding the role of American Indian populations in these disciplines can be integrated into the classroom. Facets of American Indian life should be taught as a part of the educational mainstream and not relegated to "special unit" status. American Indian history and contributions to world society were not an aside to western civilization, rather they were important components of an evolving, interdependent world. The Chicago Campus of NAES College would be an ideal source for the development of these workshops.

Recommendation #7

Develop incentive programs to reward the achievement of American Indian students and to encourage students to matriculate into colleges and universities. Many current programs in American Indian education focus on the student in need of remediation or the "problem" student that comes to the attention of the system. While there is a need for these types of programs, there is also a need to provide rewards or incentives to high achieving American Indian students who are sometimes ignored because they are doing well. Scholarship awards or other incentives should be developed for American Indian students in the Chicago public schools who are high achievers. Incentives can motivate students to perform.

Recommendation #8

An effort should be made to evaluate the past and current goals of the Title V Program in the Chicago public schools. The program goals should be evaluated to make sure that they are in line or compatible with efforts to promote the achievement of American Indian students and intervention programs that are currently operational. The Title V Program is an important resource to American Indian students in the Chicago Public Schools, and every effort should be made to make certain that these resources are used as effectively as possible.

Recommendation #9

The Chicago public school district, as well as other educational facilities in the region, should make every effort to

identify and hire American Indian teachers, administrators and staff. All too often, American Indians are the most underutilized personnel category in large educational institutions. The current affirmative action report of the Chicago public schools should be examined to determine the number and job classifications of American Indians working in the system. In addition, it would be beneficial to the American Indian community if the Chicago public schools would purchase/do business with American Indian owned and operated businesses. Large school districts and educational institutions are often important centers of economic activity and can be important clients of American Indian owned businesses and service providers.

Recommendation #10

A large number of American Indian students that drop out of the Chicago public schools eventually complete their education in adult education or GED classes. For this reason, it is imperative to evaluate the delivery of educational services in these programs and determine if these efforts can be strengthened. The adult education and GED classes are an important contact point to encourage students to continue their education at the post-secondary level. Career counseling and educational preparation for specific careers could be integrated into the adult education offerings which service American Indian populations in the city. An evaluation of existing programs and success should be undertaken to determine linkages between the educational initiatives in the public schools and those offered to adults in the community.

Recommendation #11

The situation for Indian children in the Chicago Public School System is critical and indicates that a coordinated, multi-faceted intervention program is needed. One model that should be examined is that of James Comer, who has developed an inner city educational program that was tested in New Haven, Connecticut. Dr. Comer's program has generated national attention and may provide some insight in developing an intervention program for American Indian students in Chicago's public schools.

Recommendation #12

Because Indian students experience a greater level of achievement in schools operated by the Chicago Archdiocese, further study is warranted to determine the reasons for this and to determine how the experience of Indian students in Catholic Schools can be replicated in Chicago Public Schools.

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The Indian Education Research and Reform Project
Members of the Education and Public Policy Group
June, 1991

Danny K. Davis
Commissioner
Board of Commissioners of Cook County
118 North Clark Street
Chicago 60601
312/443-5500

Ettore DiVito
Commander
18th Police District
113 West Chicago Avenue
Chicago 60610
312/744-8230

Sr. Charlene Endacavage
President
Montay College
3800 West Peterson Avenue
Chicago 60659

Joseph Frattaroli
Director
Urban and Ethnic Education
Illinois State Board of Education
400 West Randolph 14-300
Chicago 60601
312/814-3606

Lawrence Freeman
Dean, College of Education
Governors State University
University Park, Illinois 60466
708/534-5000 (X 2343)

G. Alfred Hess
Director and Member
Chicago Panel on Public Policy and Finance
220 South State #232
Chicago 60604
312/939-2202

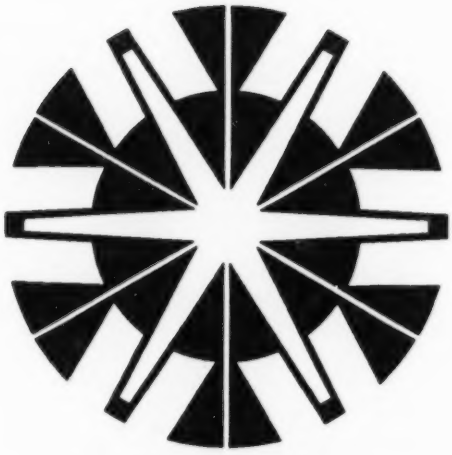
Richard Johnson
Parent Education Center
Chicago Public Schools
1819 West Pershing Road
Chicago 60609
312/535-7407

Donald Moore
Designs For Change
220 South State Street
Chicago 60604
312/922-0317

S. Garry Oniki
Consultant
17 East Memorial Drive
Bensenville, Illinois 60106
708/595-5276

Otto Pikaza
Director, Latin American Studies
University of Illinois at Chicago
Box 4348
Chicago 60680
312/996-2445

Faith Smith
President
NAES College
2838 West Peterson Avenue
Chicago 60659
312/761-5000



NAES COLLEGE
Native American Educational Services, Inc.
2838 West Peterson
Chicago, IL 60659